

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 0443

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PINT JA

SUBJ: NEW JSP POLICY DRAFT ON MST AND SELF DEFENSE FORCES

SUMMARY. THREE JSP DIET MEMBERS RELEASED LAST MONTH A DRAFT PLAN, COMPLETE WITH A TIMETABLE, FOR THE PHASED ABROGATION OF THE MST BY 1990 THROUGH NEGOTIATION WITH THE USG. PLAN ENVISIONS A STAGED TRANSFORMATION OF THE JSDF INTO SEPARATE SMALLER NATIONAL SECURITY (BORDER PATROL) AND CONSTRUCTION CORPS. DRAFT PLAN WAS PRESENTED TO A JSP COMMITTEE STUDYING PROGRAMS FOR A VARIETY OF PROJECTED COALITION GOVERNMENT SCENARIOS AND HAS NO OFFICIAL PARTY STATUS. PLAN IS BASED ON QUESTIONABLE ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT THE FORMATION OF PROGRESSIVE-LEANING COALITION GOVERNMENTS IN THE FUTURE, AND SHOULD NOT BE VIEWED AS ANY MORE THAN AN INDICATION THAT SOME IN THE JSP RECOGNIZE THAT BOTH USSR AND PRC HAVE GIVEN TACIT APPROVAL TO MST, AND THE JSP'S POLICY OF
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IMMEDIATE ABROGATION IS INCREASINGLY OUT OF STEP WITH

REALITY. THE PLAN TACITLY ACCEPTS CONTINUATION OF STATUS QUO UNTIL HYPOTHETICAL MAJOR CHANGES OCCUR IN JAPANESE POLITICAL SITUATION. END SUMMARY.

1. ON DECEMBER 20 THREE JSP DIET MEMBERS -- HIDEO DEN, YANOSUKE NARASAKI AND YUTAKA HATA -- SUBMITTED A PLAN TO

THE JSP'S PROGRESSIVE POLICY PLANNING COMMITTEE, HEADED BY CENTRIST FACTION LEADER SEIICHI KETSUMATA, WHICH CALLS FOR THE ABROGATION OF THE US-JAPAN SECURITY TREATY IN THREE PHASES. THE PLAN WAS PREPARED BY THE THREE DIET MEMBERS IN CONSULTATION WITH VARIOUS DEFENSE EXPERTS. IT HAS NO OFFICIAL STATUS WITHIN THE JSP, WHOSE OFFICIAL POLICY CALLS FOR THE IMMEDIATE ABROGATION OF THE MST ON THE ASSUMPTION TO POSER OF A "PEOPLE'S COALITION GOVERNMENT."

2. THE DRAFT PLAN IS DIVIDED INTO THREE PHASES -- 1980-83, 1983-86, AND 1986-89. THE FIRST PHASE IS PREMISED ON THE ASSUMPTION OF POWER OF A MORE-OR-LESS EQUALLY BALANCED "PROVISIONAL RENOVATIONIST GOVERNMENT" OF CONSERVATIVES AND "PROGRESSIVES." DURING THIS PHASE THE MST WOULD BE MAINTAINED INTACT, BUT THERE WOULD BE A GRADUAL DECREASE IN FORCES STATIONED IN JAPAN AND RECONNAISSANCE ACTIVITIES WOULD BE DISCONTINUED. JSDF STRENGTH WOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE PRESENT AUTHORIZED CEILING OF 266,000 (237,000 ACTUAL) TO 220,500 AND THERE WOULD BE A FREEZE ON THE ACQUISITION OF NEW WEAPONS SYSTEMS.

3. THE SECOND PHASE ASSUMES THE FORMATION OF A "MIDDLE OF THE ROAD" COALITION GOVERNMENT WITH A CLEAR "PROGRESSIVE" MAJORITY. UNDER SUCH A GOVERNMENT, NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE OPENED WITH THE US AIMED AT TRANSFORMING THE MST INTO A US-JAPAN PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY. AS A FIRST STEP IN THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MST STRUCTURE, THE RETURN OF UNNEEDED US FACILITIES AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF US TACTICAL FORCES WOULD BE SOUGHT. JSDF STRENGTH WOULD BE REDUCED TO 176,000, ARMAMENTS WOULD GRADUALLY BE SCALED DOWN AND A REORGANIZATION OF THE JSDF WOULD BE UNDERTAKEN.

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4. PHASE THREE ASSUMES THE FORMATION OF A "UNIFIED PROGRESSIVE" GOVERNMENT. DURING THIS PAHSE A COMPLETE ABROGATION OF THE TREATY AND USG RETURN OF ALL FACILITIES IN JAPAN WOULD BE NEGOTIATED; THE MST WOULD BE REPLACED BY A PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY. THE JSDF WOULD BE ABOLISHED AND REPLACED BY A NATIONAL SECURITY CORPS OF 120,000 (LATER TO BE REDUCED TO 70,000) FOR BORDER

PATROL. A SEPARATE CONSTRUCTION CORPS OF 60,000
(LATER 50,000) WOULD BE CREATED.

5. COMMENT. THIS PLAN, WHICH HAS NO OFFICIAL STATUS
WITHIN THE JSP, IS THE FIRST EFFORT IN QUITE SOME TIME
TO ADVANCE THE PARTY'S THINKING ON SECURITY ISSUES BEYOND
THE SIMPLISTIC AND INCREASINGLY UNREALISTIC "IMMEDIATE
ABROGATION" FRAMEWORK. THE DRAFTERS HAVE PLAYED A
PROMINENT ROLE IN JSP DIET CRITICISM OF THE SECURITY
RELATIONSHIP. IT WAS INFLUENCED AS MUCH BY THE
CHANGED ATTITUDES OF THE PRC AND USSR TOWARD THE MSG
AS BY CHANGING DOMESTIC ATTITUDES TOWARD THE TREATY
RELATIONSHIP. WHILE WE DO NOT EXPECT IT TO HAVE ANY
IMMEDIATE EFFECT ON OFFICIAL JSP POLICY, ITS PRESENTATION
AT THIS TIME IS ONE MORE INDICATION OF CHANGE, ALBEIT
AT A SNAIL'S PACE, IN JSP OUTLOOK.

6. THE DRAFT PLAN IS BASED ON WHAT WE BELIEVE TO BE
HIGHLY QUESTIONABLE ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS
IN JAPANESE POLITICS. WHILE IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE LDP
WILL CONTINUE ITS GRADUAL DECLINE IN POPULAR SUPPORT, IT
IS BY NO MEANS CERTAIN THAT "PROGRESSIVE FORCES" WOULD
BE THE BENEFICIARIES OF THAT DECLINE. IN THE UNLIKELY
EVENT THAT THE LDP SHOULD FIND ITSELF IN THE POSITION OF
NEEDING A COALITION PARTNER, THE CLEAN GOVERNMENT
PARTY (CGP) AND DSP WOULD BE FAR MORE LIKELY CANDIDATES.

7. INTERESTINGLY, THE THREE-PHASE SCENARIO IN EFFECT
PROVIDES THE BASIS FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE STATUS
QUO AS AN IMMEDIATELY ACCEPTABLE POLICY, WHILE RETAINING
THE ABROGATION OF THE MST AS AN ULTIMATE THEORETICAL
GOAL. SUCH A SCENARIO THUS HAS SOMETHING FOR BOTH THE
JSP LEFT AND RIGHT.

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8. WHILE THE MEDIA HAVE VIEWED THE PLAN WITH SOME
SKEPTICISM, THEY HAVE GENERALLY WELCOMED THE APPEARANCE OF
AT LEAST SOMEWHAT MORE REALISM IN THE JSP. EVEN THE
ASAHI, WHICH IN THE PAST HAS OFTEN BEEN CRITICAL OF THE
SECURITY RELATIONSHIP, MOST SURPRISINGLY WELCOMED THE
NEW REALISM IN A JANUARY 3 EDITORIAL AND USED IT AS THE
BASIS FOR A LONG DISCUSSION OF THE MST IN WHICH IT
CONCLUDED THAT JAPANESE OPPOSITION PARTIES SHOULD USE
THE NATO POLICIES OF THE WEST EUROPEAN OPPOSITION AS
A GUIDE IN DRAFTING SECURITY POLICY.
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